

Republican Success Essential to Legitimate Reform.

# S P E E C H

OF

## HON. JOHN H. BAKER,

OF INDIANA,

### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

*Wednesday, August 9, 1876,*

On the necessity of the success of the republican party in order to secure legitimate reform.

Mr. BAKER, of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, two years ago the democratic party went before the country on the claim of reform in the civil service, retrenchment in expenditures, and reduction of taxation. They succeeded in electing a large majority of the members of this House and in obtaining control in many States. In the impending presidential campaign the same issue is made prominent in the platforms of their national and State conventions, in the speeches on the floor of Congress, in the public press, and on the stump. From time to time the democratic candidate for the Presidency had given out that the battle-cry of the canvass was to be reform, and in his letter of acceptance he has amplified the same idea, hoping evidently by a mere catch-word to take captive the popular heart. This cry falsely implies that the republican party is opposed to reform. The flaunting of their party banner in our faces inscribed "reform" challenges attention to their record in the past and their practice at the present time. In reform the people demand the genuine article and not a glittering sham.

The character of the last democratic national administration in every element constituting pure, economical, honest, patriotic government was so shameless that no man can be found hardy enough to defend it. Covered with corruption and swarming with speculators from the public Treasury, there was no department of that administration that was not honey-combed with frauds and crimes. It is difficult to determine whether the imbecility and wickedness of the President or the treason fostered and encouraged in the Cabinet and in the halls of Congress are more calculated to arouse patriotic indignation. The incapacity of that party to retrench expenditures while controlling the national administration is shown by its creation of a debt annually to carry on the Government in time of peace. The expenditures exceeded the revenues as follows:

For the fiscal year ending June 30—

1875.....	\$47,529,604 43
1876.....	15,581,511 10
1869.....	7,065,990 56
1861.....	25,086,714 50

Making the total indebtedness created..... 75,217,120 59

The public credit had meantime sunk so low that a loan of \$25,000,000 was negotiated at a discount of about 15 per cent. below par. Nothing need be added to this naked outline to make the picture of the profligacy, corruption, and treason of the democracy of that day appear in all its naked deformity.

In his letter of acceptance the democratic candidate for Vice-President makes the following charge:

The burdens of the people must also be lightened by a great change in our system of public expense. The profligate expenditure which increased taxation from \$5 per capita in 1860 to \$18 in 1870 tells its own story of our need of fiscal reform.

The burdens of the people are undoubtedly great, and they ought to be lightened to the utmost by every possible fiscal reform. The republican party has done this in a most remarkable degree, as I shall presently show. The burdens of taxation spoken of by Mr. Hendricks must be national, as he is speaking of the reform to be

accomplished in this particular by a national democratic success. Let us recur to official data and see how nearly he speaks the truth. I have before me a recent statement, carefully prepared by the Treasury Department, exhibiting the comparative ordinary expenses of the Government for the years 1830 and 1875. I incorporate the material portions of this statement in my remarks, as follows :

*Comparison of the expenditures of 1875 with those of 1860.*

Objects of expenditure.	Expenditures for fiscal year 1875.	Deductions of expenditures arising from the rebellion, 1875.	Expenditures on peace basis, 1875.	Expenditures in 1860.
Congress.....	\$5,157,912 47	\$591,536 38	.....	\$2,619,529 43
Executive.....	19,132,860 68	2,889,065 67	.....	2,347,358 01
Judiciary.....	4,187,628 21	1,395,876 07	.....	1,181,067 91
Territorial governments.....	290,416 77	.....	.....	.....
Total civil list.....	19,767,918 14	4,876,478 12	\$14,891,440 01	6,148,655 41
Foreign intercourse.....	3,231,087 14	2,016,286 95	1,214,800 18	1,163,267 15
Miscellaneous.....	48,971,697 72	28,616,523 53	19,455,169 19	29,658,067 92
Indians.....	8,354,656 82	.....	8,284,656 82	.....
Pensions.....	29,456,216 22	29,456,216 22	.....	2,955,686 39
Military establishment.....	41,120,645 98	16,799,169 62	24,321,476 36	16,460,767 16
Naval establishment.....	21,497,626 27	4,991,406 54	16,506,219 93	11,513,150 19
Interest on public debt.....	103,003,544 67	163,093,544 54	.....	3,173,214 62
Total.....	274,623,392 84	189,849,630 35	84,773,762 43	63,023,783 98
Deduct 12,675 per cent., the average premium on gold during the year, the expenditures here given being in currency while those of 1860 were in gold.....	.....	.....	10,745,074 40	.....
Deduct items which are not in reality expenditures, but which appear so by reason of the system of book-keeping in practice in the Department.....	.....	.....	74,023,688 09	.....
.....	.....	.....	4,172,570 32	1,623,550 34
.....	.....	.....	63,856,117 77	61,402,408 64
Excess of expenditures of 1875 over 1860.....	.....	.....	8,453,709 13	.....

The expenses for the year 1876 are less by several millions than they were in 1875, so that for the present fiscal year the expenses of the Government, after deducting the expenses growing out of the war debt and war claims, are about the same as in 1860. The above statement shows that the expenses for 1875 exceed those of 1860 by only the sum of \$8,453,709.13. This statement, which is entirely authentic and official, shows in detail that the reckless and partisan charges of the democratic vice-presidential candidate are wholly unfounded. This mis-statement was knowingly made by Governor Hendricks for bad party purposes. It demonstrates what a moment's reflection must convince any impartial mind is the truth, and that is that the great and overwhelming burden under which our people labor, and which hangs like an incubus on our prostrate industries, is the bitter fruit of a wicked and causeless rebellion. And yet the very men who have nearly wrought our ruin with an effrontery unparalleled, ask the people to place in their keeping all that is valuable in the present or hopeful for the future.

In 1860 the population of the country was in round numbers 31,000,000. The net ordinary expenses of the Government *per capita* were \$2.04 in currency. In 1875 the population in round numbers was 44,000,000. The ordinary expenses of the Government *per capita*, after deducting the expenses for which the republican party is not responsible and which cannot be diminished by any party in control of the Government, are \$1.70 in currency. Another illustration will show the falsity of the charge made by Governor Hendricks. In 1870 the population was 38,000,000. The taxes at \$18 *per capita* would amount to \$684,000,000. The amount actually collected that year was only \$111,255,477.21. In 1875 they were reduced to \$288,000,051.10, or considerably less than one-half the amount stated by the democratic vice-presidential candidate.

The democratic presidential candidate is equally unfortunate in his attempt to deceive and mislead the people. In his letter of acceptance he says :

The present depression in all the business and industries of the people, which is depriving labor of its employment and carrying want into so many homes, has its principal cause in excessive governmental consumption. Under the illusions of a specious prosperity, engendered by the false policies of the Federal Government, a waste of capital has been going on ever since the peace of 1865, which could only end in universal disaster. The Federal taxes of the last eleven years reach the gigantic sum of \$1,500,000,000.

The purpose of this reference is to show the people that all this vast sum has been consumed in carrying on the ordinary functions of the Government.

A report furnished me on request by the Secretary of the Treasury, which I have in my hand, shows that the expenses of the last eleven years ending with June 30, 1876, were as follows:

For the fiscal year ending June 30—

1866	\$520,809,416 93
1867	357,512,675 16
1868	377,310,284 86
1869	322,865,277 80
1870	309,653,560 75
1871	292,177,188 25
1872	277,517,962 67
1873	290,315,245 33
1874	287,131,873 17
1875	271,623,332 83
1876	258,469,797 33

Making total amount of expenditures in the last eleven years.....\$3,568,468,675 15

Mr. Tilden, it will be seen, comes within about one thousand millions of having his figures correct. If he had embraced the last *twelve* years in his statement, it would have been *substantially* correct as to amount. But to have been entirely accurate he ought to have stated that the sum of \$1,031,000,000 was paid out during the fiscal year 1865 to the Army and for the expenses of the last year of the rebellion. Can he never cease upbraiding the republican party for the thousands of millions spent in putting down the rebellion? Would he have had the republican party in 1865 repudiate the more than one thousand millions then due to the gallant defenders of the Republic against a rebellion whose life was prolonged into 1865 by his Chicago peace platform, which declared "the experiment of war a failure?" During the eleven years ending with June 30, 1876, there have been paid out on two single accounts the following amounts:

*Interest on the public debt.*

For the fiscal year ending June 30—

1866	\$133,697,741 69
1867	143,781,591 21
1868	110,124,046 71
1869	120,694,212 81
1870	129,235,498 69
1871	125,576,565 95
1872	117,357,839 72
1873	101,750,686 44
1874	107,119,815 21
1875	103,693,514 57
1876	108,243,271 23

Total interest paid on public debt in the last eleven years.....1,335,141,915 21

*The amount paid for pensions.*

For the fiscal year ending June 30—

1866	\$15,665,352 35
1867	20,936,551 71
1868	23,782,386 78
1869	28,176,621 78
1870	28,348,502 17
1871	31,113,894 88
1872	28,533,402 56
1873	29,370,428 83
1874	30,068,411 66
1875	23,463,216 22
1876	28,557,355 09

Total amount of pensions paid in the last eleven years.....256,224,895 96

These two items amount to \$1,631,374,711.17. To this must be added war, cotton, and southern claims paid in the last eleven years, at least \$250,000,000. This amount of disbursements was made during this period and is directly referable to the rebellion. To all this must be added \$822,154,730.59 paid on the public debt up to June 30, 1876. Since then \$1,300,000 more has been paid. So that instead of four thousand five hundred millions having been consumed in carrying on the ordinary functions of the Government the sum is less rather than over one thousand million dollars for the whole period of eleven years. The true amount is very nearly

\$900,000,000. Considering the population, the unsettled condition of the eleven lately seceded States, the necessarily large increase of the public service from the growth of the country and the reconstruction of the South, and the increased pay of our soldiers and sailors, the consumption of taxes for the ordinary expenses of the Government has been certainly less in proportion to the wealth and population than it was under the last democratic administration. The obvious purpose of such grossly partisan misstatements by the democratic presidential and vice-presidential candidates is to impose on the ignorant or unwary, a course which can find its only apology in the desperation of a bad cause.

One more fact in this connection ought to be stated. It will present republican reform in the large and steady reduction of internal revenue taxes and customs dues since the close of the rebellion in a manner gratifying to every well-wisher of his country. The estimates which I use will be found in the finance report of 1872. On recent application at the Treasury Department, I have received confirmation of their accuracy. These estimates are therefore reliable as well as official, having undergone a double scrutiny.

The reduction of taxation since the close of the war has been as follows:

*In internal revenue.*

By the act of July 13, 1866.....	\$65,000,000
By the act of March 2, 1867.....	40,000,000
By the act of February 3, 1868.....	25,000,000
By the act of March 31, 1868, and July 20, 1868.....	45,000,000
By the act of July 14, 1870.....	55,000,000
By the act of June 6, 1872.....	20,651,000

Making total reduction of internal-revenue taxes.... 248,651,000

*In customs dues.*

By the act of July 14, 1870.....	\$29,526,410
By the acts of May 1 and June 6, 1872.....	31,172,761

Making total reductions in customs dues..... 60,699,171

The total reduction under these several acts is \$309,350,171. The average annual reduction since the war and down to 1875, when the democracy came into absolute control of the House, is \$30,935,017.10.

The Constitution invests the House of Representatives with the sole power of originating tax and revenue bills. Hence the democratic party is alone responsible for having allowed a session of nearly nine months to pass without any effective effort to reduce taxation. Revenue reform wisely directed is always needed. The democracy in 1874 pledged themselves to the country to reduce taxation more rapidly and largely than has been done by the republican party. Had the republican party remained in control of the House it would have made large reductions this year, as it has done in years past. This solemn pledge of revenue reform made by the democratic party was only made to be broken. To leave taxation unchanged, and simply cut down appropriations and cripple the Government can bring no relief to prostrate industries. It will simply drain the money from the people, and, instead of spending it in carrying on the Government, needless millions will be hoarded in the Treasury and withdrawn from circulation. It will produce financial stringency and distress instead of affording needed relief.

Two propositions have been presented by the democracy to the House. One bill proposes to lay a tax on tea and coffee, which should produce a revenue of say \$30,000,000 per annum to be largely drawn from the laborers of the country. The other bill looked to cutting down, in the interest of the rich, the duties on many articles of luxury of foreign production. These facts exhibit the hollow pretense of the democratic party so far as relates to revenue reform.

The fair inference from Mr. Tilden's letter of acceptance and the known and uniform practice of the democratic party is that the only reform in the civil service will be to turn out honest, experienced, and capable men and women, largely Union soldiers and their widows and orphans, and replace them by a hungry and rapacious horde of democrats, largely made up of ex-confederates.

It is claimed, however, that the bloody struggle of the rebellion and their having been kept out of the control of the National Government for the past sixteen years have purged the democratic party of its profligacy and corruption. When or how this miracle has been wrought we are left painfully in ignorance. They assert that such is the fact without proof and boldly demand that the people shall accept their assertion. Let them first do "works meet for repentance." If we beg leave to doubt their conversion and call upon them for proof, we shall only follow the maxims of wisdom and the dictates of experience. Wherever the democratic party has had

control since 1860, whether in State or municipal government, it has proved that it has not lost any of its old habits of profligacy and corruption. Its administration of the finances in State, county, and municipal affairs has always and everywhere been characterized by false pretenses of retrenchment and economy. In point of fact it has almost always been extravagant, frequently corrupt, and often criminal. Inasmuch as the democratic candidate for President is a citizen of New York City and has been for nearly a quarter of a century a leading and influential politician in close and intimate personal and political relations with the democratic rulers of that city, we can fairly look to its financial management as a type of the reform which we may expect if the democrats are successful in gaining control of the National Government.

In 1830 the public debt of the city of New York amounted to the sum in round numbers or \$900,000, at which figure it stood with small fluctuations until 1836, when it was increased to \$1,282,103.58. In the next year it was nearly doubled, and so again the following year; so that in 1839 the debt had reached the sum of \$7,126,790. This was still further increased, so that it amounted to \$13,316,292.86 in 1842. At this figure it stood about stationary for the next ten years. During the ten years from 1852 to 1862 it was increased to the sum of \$21,695,506.83. Then followed six years of moderate democratic extravagance, increasing the debt by some \$14,000,000, so that in 1868 the debt amounted to \$35,983,617. It was about this period that the high political morals and the reform and economic virtues of Tilden, Tweed, Morrissey, Kelly and other eminent reformers of the Tammany school were most potential in governing that city. In one year the debt sprang up from \$35,983,617 in 1868, to \$47,691,840 in 1869. In 1870 it had swollen to \$73,373,752. In 1871 it amounted to \$88,369,384. In 1872 it amounted to \$95,582,153. In 1873 it was increased to \$106,363,471. In 1874, the last year for which I have the official figures, the debt amounted to the enormous sum of \$114,979,970. Thus in nine years under a purely democratic administration the debt of this city has grown from \$35,983,617 to \$114,979,970, being the gigantic sum of \$78,996,323. Before this debt all the debts created under so-called carpet-bag governments in all the lately seceded States sink into insignificance. The debt fastened on that city by the democratic party in nine years exceeds the whole debt contracted in all the States lately in rebellion since the close of the war. The tax *per capita* in New York was in—

1830.....	\$2 51
1849.....	4 33
1859.....	6 27
1869.....	11 99
1870.....	25 11
1874.....	32 31

The debt *per capita* was in 1830 \$3.82; in 1874 \$114.98.

A debt of \$115 in round numbers for each man, woman, and child is the legacy of democratic administration in that great city. The people of this country will hardly feel like saying to Tilden and his Tammany democratic friends, "Inasmuch as ye have been faithful over a few things, we will make you ruler over many."

There is one other mode in which the respective claims of the republican and democratic parties to honesty and efficiency in the administration of public affairs may be tested. And I wish to say in passing that the republican party is not ashamed of its record, however much it may blush for the weakness and criminality of some of its members. It does not ask that its past shall be blotted from the page of history and the memory of men. As the majestic sun in our planetary system gives light and heat and life to the teeming millions of the earth, so the republican party has given liberty to a race, saved republican institutions from perishing from among men, and has given fresh hope and heart to struggling humanity everywhere. As there are spots on the disk of the sun, so, as our party is composed of fallible men, there have been errors and shortcomings, and doubtless some bad and corrupt men have found their way into public place. But take the history of the republican party for the last sixteen years as a whole, and when the future historian shall chronicle the achievements of the first century of the Republic the loftiest niche on that historic page will be filled with the deeds wrought by that great and patriotic party. Loyal, honest, and faithful in the past, it is the safest guardian for the future of the blood-bought results of the war.

I cannot give place here for the full statement issued by the Secretary of the Treasury June 19, 1876, showing the amount of defalcations and the ratio of losses per \$1,000 to the aggregate received and disbursed, arranged in periods of four years each. I have the detailed statement in my hand, and I read only the gross amounts. First I read the amount of losses and defalcations in the collection of the revenues of the Government from all sources.

Period.	Receipts.	Losses.	Loss on \$1,000.
January 1, 1834, to December 31, 1837.....	\$135,905,900 92	\$1,383,825 41	\$10 17
January 1, 1838, to December 31, 1841.....	120,748,543 91	392,323 34	3 01
January 1, 1842, to June 30, 1845.....	107,724,931 57	429,981 39	3 68
July 1, 1845, to June 30, 1849.....	201,857,998 45	18,109 98	98
July 1, 1849, to June 30, 1851.....	211,908,612 91	276,270 58	1 29
July 1, 1851, to June 30, 1853.....	232,179,829 56	213,001 78	75
July 1, 1853, to June 30, 1854.....	312,550,679 56	191,003 83	62
July 1, 1854, to June 30, 1855.....	475,040,137 61	509,493 60	10
July 1, 1855, to June 30, 1857.....	462,246,138 46	2,592,721 90	63
July 1, 1857, to June 30, 1859.....	2,576,645 58 22	954,698 68	37
July 1, 1859, to June 30, 1855.....	1,829,222,898 62	322,183 92	22
Total.....	14,163,631,295 00	7,255,619 41	51

This table tells its own tale. From a loss and defalcation of \$10.17 on each \$1,000 of receipts during the last term of Andrew Jackson's administration, the losses and defalcations during the last term of President Grant's administration have reached the unexampled figure of 22 cents on each \$1,000 of receipts. While I freely admit that there are serious defects in the civil service of the republican party, its improvement on democratic civil service is great and unparalleled.

I now read the gross totals of losses and defalcations in the disbursements of money from the Treasury.

Period.	Post-office.			Grand total, exclusive of post-office.		
	Disbursements.	Losses.	Loss on \$1,000.	Disbursements.	Losses.	Loss on \$1,000.
Jan. 1, 1834, to Dec. 31, 1837.....	\$11,687,841 18	\$13,698 51	\$1 17	\$119,303,325 19	\$1,163,736 01	\$10 55
Jan. 1, 1838, to Dec. 31, 1841.....	18,284,901 57	31,809 86	2 33	137,001,433 34	2,899,653 64	21 15
Jan. 1, 1842, to June 30, 1845.....	18,086,750 29	2,579 36	11	163,187,401 24	1,433,242 40	10 37
July 1, 1845, to June 30, 1849.....	16,884,478 41	2,511 24	15	206,194,700 57	1,712,169 82	8 34
July 1, 1849, to June 30, 1851.....	26,582,550 74	32,966 20	1 29	195,570,493 14	1,485,192 68	7 64
July 1, 1851, to June 30, 1853.....	30,379,110 79	28,128 65	6 32	285,658,875 69	1,674,892 64	5 85
July 1, 1853, to June 30, 1854.....	50,957,922 75	112,258 36	3 62	328,183,268 30	2,202,825 92	6 88
July 1, 1854, to June 30, 1855.....	48,779,965 45	91,157 63	1 91	460,745,721 22	6,599,022 91	1 41
July 1, 1855, to June 30, 1857.....	81,096,285 91	167,235 71	2 06	3,891,576,259 10	1,889,641 17	48
July 1, 1857, to June 30, 1859.....	161,432,059 69	175,797 09	1 13	2,661,155,569 90	1,996,262 48	49
July 1, 1859, to June 30, 1855.....	65,554,421 95	5,859 64	55	1,466,699,819 31	370,538 81	25
Total.....	\$9,155,567 82	\$63,572 48	2 01	13,956,870,672 65	24,269,993 28	1 59

These tables show that the officers to whom are intrusted the vast financial interests of the country are possessed of a greater average honesty and skill than any who have been in that service before them. The average losses and defalcations in disbursements on each \$1,000 are almost fifty times less than in Jackson's day. In honesty and efficiency this branch of the service which takes charge of the people's money never stood one-twentieth part as high under any democratic administration since 1834 as it does to-day. And yet with a record showing their frauds and corruptions during twenty-six years to have been more than twenty times as great on the average as that of the republican party, with an assurance absolutely amazing, they ask to be put into possession of the Government.

But, Mr. Speaker, it is not my purpose to spend further time in placing the democratic record of the past alongside of the republican record. I wish to bring before the House and the country some facts of more recent occurrence; facts which may well give pause to thoughtful men and impel them to ask, Whither are we tending? These facts are like the little storm-cloud when it first appears upon the sky giving evidence of the coming storm. They show the tendency and purpose at least of the great controlling wing of the democratic party, the southern wing, which gives vitality and power to the national democracy, and which will control, in the future, as in the past, that party and its policies. I allude, sir, to the enormous rabs that are to be made on the Treasury in the interest of the South. It was to have been expected that with an adverse Senate and Executive and with an impending presidential election the southern democracy would have been prudent enough to have concealed their real purposes. Such, however, is not the fact. The full measure of their demands upon the overburdened tax-payers of the North stands clearly revealed in the bills which southern democrats have introduced and have

pending to-day in this Chamber, which are to sleep until they gain control of the Government. When that occurs they will demand their passage. With a solid South they only need forty northern democratic votes to control the House. Who doubts that if the democrats carry the country forty men, like Ephraim, baked only on one side, will be found to aid them.

Let me, Mr. Speaker, call attention to these bills, not in order of their introduction, but rather with reference to the matter to which they relate.

#### THE DIRECT-TAX JOB.

The first bill to which I call attention is House bill No. 3145, entitled "A bill to refund certain direct taxes on land collected from citizens in the late insurrectionary States under the act of August 5, 1861." The act of 1861 levied a direct tax of twenty millions and apportioned it, as provided by the Constitution, among the several States according to population. All the States except those in rebellion assumed their quotas and paid them excepting some small balances. The amount apportioned to the eleven insurrectionary States was \$5,152,886. When the war closed the collection of this tax in the South began and continued until July, 1865, when Congress passed an act suspending further collection until January 1, 1869. No effort has been made to collect any of this tax since 1865. The amount uncollected is \$2,661,776. Not satisfied to be relieved from the payment of this large debt, the South now demands that the Government shall refund the sum of \$2,192,110. The reason alleged in the bill is that said taxes "were taken from a people greatly impoverished by the war and wholly unable to pay the same, and that the burden of taxation may be made equal and that all the people alike in said States may be equally relieved by the act of suspension."

Nearly fifteen millions of this direct tax were drawn from the toiling people of the North. The exigency which made this tax necessary involved the loyal North in a debt of nearly two thousand six hundred millions of dollars, the loss of nearly three hundred thousand precious lives, and five hundred thousand more shattered and broken by wounds and disease. Who will equalize their burdens, repay their taxes, make good the losses of life and health and property? Cannot some southern democrat devise some system more equitable and just in its operations than to lay all the losses of the South on the patient back of the North?

#### THE COTTON-TAX JOB.

Under the provisions of the internal-revenue law there was levied and collected during the years 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, and 1868 a tax on raw cotton amounting to the sum of \$48,072,388.79. For several years there has been a determined combination to secure the refunding of this tax. The southern democracy is determined to get the amount refunded to their people. A democrat from Georgia introduced a bill (H. R. No. 232) which proposes to refund the tax to the parties who actually produced the cotton. It is, however, a gigantic job of lobbyists and speculators who have got control of more nominal figures of nearly the whole of this immense claim. The amount involved makes this a most popular scheme for the lobbying, and if the democrats carry the election this year the northern laborers may prepare their shoulders for this new burden. The plan proposed by the bill is to issue bonds of the United States in sums of one hundred, five hundred, and one thousand dollars, payable at the Treasury of the United States to bearer at the end of thirty years from date, in gold, bearing interest at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, payable semi-annually in gold. The annual interest on this sum would be \$3,403,619. In thirty years the amount of interest paid would be \$192,198,579; thus making the entire amount, principal and interest, to be taken from the tax-payers \$170,190,958. Four-fifths of this vast scheme of plunder would fall upon the laborers of the North.

#### CLAIMS FOR USE AND OCCUPATION OF PROPERTY.

There are two other schemes pending before the House and awaiting a democratic victory to carry them to success whose gigantic proportions appall the mind with their vastness. These schemes are brought forward with the settled purpose on the part of the southern democracy to carry them at the earliest moment. The first of these two bills to which I refer is House bill No. 2354, "directing compensation to be allowed for the use and occupation of property by the United States during the late war." It authorizes the Secretary of War "to allow reasonable compensation to all citizens of the United States for the use and occupation of their property by the United States Army, or any part thereof, during the late civil war." It provides "that the affidavit of the claimant, supported by the competent testi-



mony of any reputable citizen, *shall* be sufficient proof to establish the fact of the use and occupation of such property by said Army."

It will be observed that the act is not confined to loyal citizens, but it in express terms embraces all citizens, whether loyal or disloyal. It gives every man, woman, and child who owned any property which was used or occupied by the Army during the war a claim on the Treasury for the reasonable value of such use and occupation. The whole South was used and occupied by our armies for four years, and now it is proposed to compel the loyal men of the North, who spent more than five thousand millions in treasure and three hundred thousand lives to crush out the rebellion, to pay more than a thousand million dollars in addition for having dared to use and occupy the South while fighting to preserve the Union! There is no constitutional amendment forbidding the payment of such claims. They now confront us here in this Chamber; and if the democratic party succeed, the patient laborers of the North must bow their backs while their southern masters lay on this load.

The symmetry of this scheme of democratic plunder would not be complete without another bill to cover personal property. It is not wanting. An Arkansas member introduced a bill (H. R. No. 553) "to facilitate the adjustment and settlement of claims of citizens of the United States for stores and supplies taken or furnished during the rebellion for the Army of the United States, and for other purposes." This bill provides that—

All citizens of the United States having claims against the United States for stores or supplies taken or furnished during the rebellion for the use of the Army of the United States, including the use and loss of vessels or boats while employed in the service of the United States, may institute suit against the United States for the adjustment and recovery of such claims, &c.

This bill, like the preceding one, is intended for the sole benefit of those who were engaged in the wicked attempt to destroy the life of the nation. The vastness of the scheme contemplated by these two bills almost passes belief.

We have, Mr. Speaker, a basis which will enable us to approximate with some degree of accuracy their amount. An act was passed shortly after the close of the war creating the court of southern claims commission, and giving it jurisdiction to receive and adjudicate claims for property taken, occupied, or destroyed by our armies where the claimant would swear to his constant loyalty during the rebellion. A reasonable estimate of the number and amount of the claims under the two bills I am discussing may be formed by taking the number and amount of southern claims filed by claimants who have sworn to their loyalty. The number of such claims is 22,298. The total amount of such claims now filed is \$69,258,150.

It is safe to say that the claims of disloyal claimants will average as much in amount as those of loyal claimants. I think the disloyal people of the South embraced the great body of the wealthy and educated, so that their claims would be likely to average more rather than less than those filed by southern loyalists. But let us put their average at the same amount. It is also safe to say that there were fifty times as many disloyal as there were loyal men who suffered loss by the war of the rebellion. On this basis, and I submit that it is a reasonable one, the amount of these two schemes of plunder will reach the enormous sum of \$3,012,907,500! Can you trust the southern democracy and their northern allies to keep this fearful burden from your shoulders? In war they were united in heart; in peace they are not divided.

There are one hundred and forty-two other bills seeking relief for the South whose amount only reaches a few millions of dollars. These are too petty in the face of these grander schemes of plunder to demand more extended comment. Let us recapitulate these greater schemes which I have mentioned:

The direct-tax job.....	\$2,492,110
The cotton-tax job.....	63,072,388
The war-loss job.....	3,012,907,500
Total amount of jobs.....	\$3,083,471,998

With such vast schemes of plunder to call them together, the army of lobbyists, rings, and political sharpers who will infest the capital under democratic rule will be thicker than the lice and more voracious than the locusts of Egypt. This is only one of the phases of public plunder under the sounding name of reform to which the present corrupt and profligate democracy invite the country. To that great and patriotic party which saved the national life, enfranchised a race, restored national honor and financial credit alone can the people of the country to-day look for that genuine reform and wise, patriotic, and loyal government which shall add new and enduring lustre to the glories of the past.